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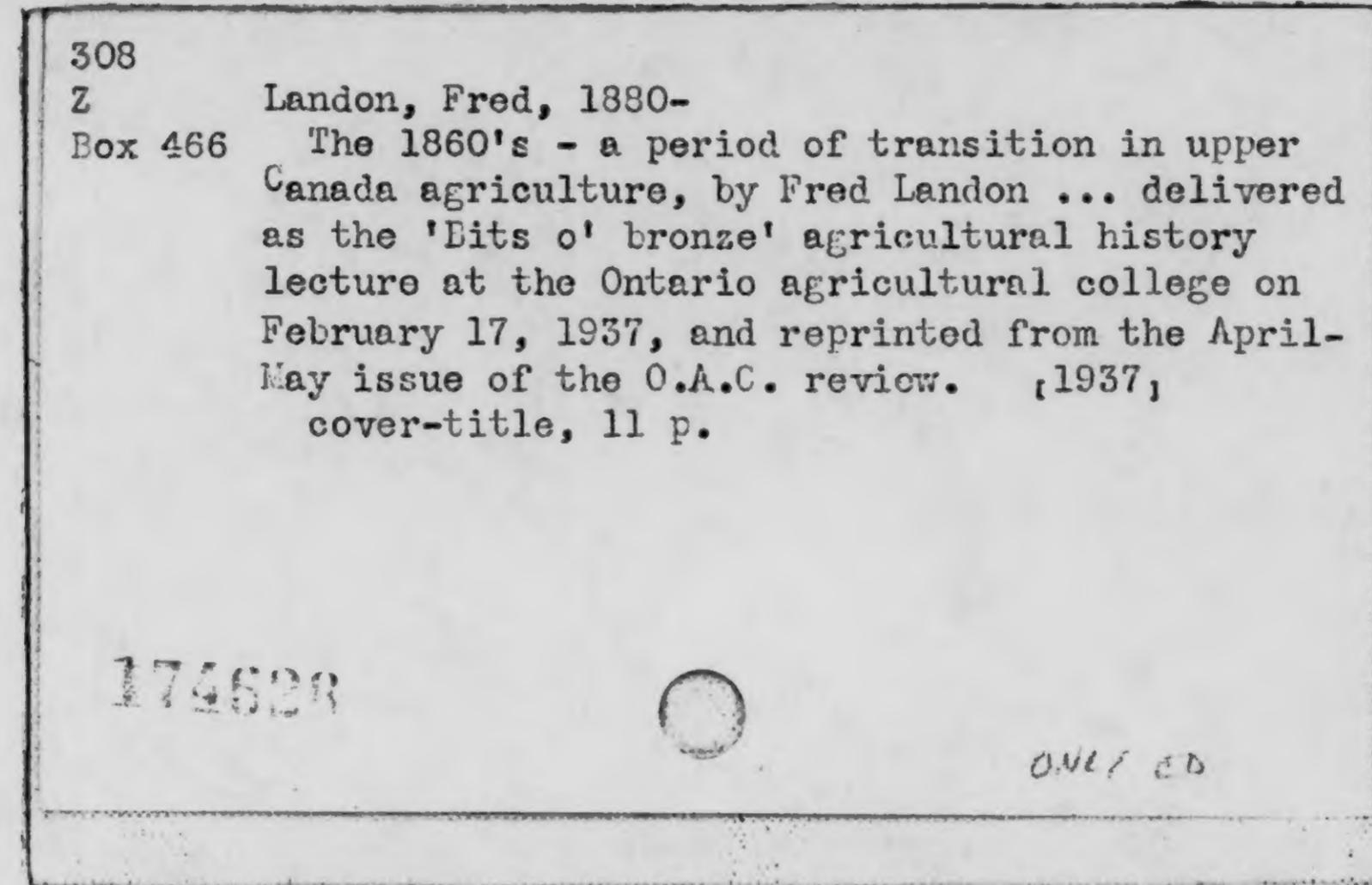
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The 1860's

—A Period of Transition in Upper Canada Agriculture

By

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Delivered as the
"Bits o' Bronze" Agricultural
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The 1860's - - A Period of Transition in Upper Canada Agriculture

Delivered as the "Bits o' Bronze" Lecture for 1937 on February 17, by Prof. F. Landon, Chief Librarian, University of Western Ontario

In one of the eloquent passages of a speech made in 1860 in the old Parliament of Canada, Thomas D'Arcy McGee makes reference to the rapidity with which changes on this continent take place. "Men do not talk on this continent of changes wrought by centuries," he says, "but of the events of years. Men do not vegetate in this age as they did formerly, in one spot, occupying one position. Thought outruns the steam car, and hope outflies the telegraph. We live more in ten years in this era than the patriarchs did in a thousand."

Had McGee been able to look down the years immediately ahead on this continent, he might have been even more moved to emotion, for it is in this same speech that he voices his dream of a confederacy of all the British North American provinces, "one great nationality bound, like the shield of Achilles, by the blue rim of ocean . . . quartered into many communities—each disposing of its own internal affairs—but all bound together by free institutions, free intercourse and free commerce." That dream was realized within the next seven years and in its realization McGee was to play a part which only in our own time has received the recognition it deserves. In that same period of seven years there was fought on this continent the greatest war of the nineteenth century, the greatest civil war of all history, and we are beginning to recognize that among the forces which led to the Canadian confederation the American Civil War was one of the most dynamic.

When Lee surrendered to Grant on an April Sunday morning in 1865 it

was the end of an era. On that day there was born a new federal union in which the relative authority of states and nation was very different from that which had prevailed five years before. Moreover, the political changes which the war had produced had been accompanied by social and economic changes the full importance of which could only be seen in small part at the time. On that April morning of 1865, we in Canada were already well on our way towards a new union, and in determining the nature of that union we had been observant of the weaknesses of the federation to the south. The Civil War had not been without its lessons for the Canadian people and for their leaders. From the point of view of seventy years later we can also see that vast economic and social change, naturally not well understood at the time, accompanied our political developments in the decade after 1860.

In the history of this continent during the 19th century the two outstanding periods of change coincide in the United States with the presidencies of Jackson and Lincoln and, in Canada, with the Rebellion of 1837 and the movement for Confederation. In Upper Canada hampering 18th century ideas persisted for more than a generation past their time so that the decade of the forties, which we think of chiefly in terms of constitutional change, had to be quite conspicuously a period of reconstruction along economic and social lines. After 1860 when, once again, we were frustrated by an inadequate political structure, external events which actually threatened our continued national existence drove us rapidly on to a

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new political experiment. This political experiment was accompanied by marked social and economic changes in which agriculture shared.

By the year 1860 the pioneer stage of agriculture of this province was over, except in more newly-opened districts. Despite tradition, there was little that was romantic in the pioneer era. For the majority of those who engaged in agriculture prior to the 1840's there was continuous labour of the most strenuous kind in order that a living might be secured. Our people were taking up the heavily wooded lands of this province at the same time that great waves of Americans were moving into western New York, the Ohio country and the more westerly territories and states. The government of the Old Northwest and the government of Upper Canada, instituted only four years apart, afford interesting contrasts in the period before 1837, but the life of the two peoples ran along similar lines. In each case the problem of existence could be solved only by the production of a staple for which there was a market and which could be easily transported to that market. In each case the pioneer population turned to wheat as the necessary staple, but the advantages were not always equal.

When the Erie Canal was completed in 1826 the American wheat producer had a very distinct advantage over the Canadian farmer, for whose defence against some imaginary foe the British government was spending vast sums upon the commercially useless Rideau Canal. Only in the middle forties, with the Canada Corn Act in force, and during the period of reciprocal trade after 1854, did this province find itself in a position comparable to that enjoyed by the wheat producers across the boundary line. Midway between the few years when the Canada Corn Act was in force and the advent of reciprocity there came a time of stagnation, disappointment and outspoken demand for annexation to the United States.

The agricultural history of Upper Canada can not be rightly understood

apart from the general development of agriculture in the adjacent northern states. Our earliest agricultural technique came with the Loyalists and with the non-Loyalist, land-hungry American immigrants who were entering the province as early as the time of Simcoe. The earlier immigrants from the British Isles found it necessary to adapt themselves to a technique already established and sometimes found difficulty in making the adjustments thereto. Furthermore, Upper Canadian agriculture underwent recurring adjustments as changes took place in the neighbouring states. The adjustments in Upper Canada closely resemble those which took place in New York State and in the newer states of the west. Boundary lines and allegiances had little effect upon what Frederick Jackson Turner has called the "perennial rebirth" along the frontier. We might attempt, as we did after the War of 1812, to shut out American people but we could not long shut out American ideas.

Wheat production was the main business of farmers in Eastern New York State down to the thirties*. The crop was well adapted to most regions, land was still cheap and no such large initial expenditure was required as in other types of farming. After 1830, however, the once fruitful area of the Mohawk Valley and the area north and east of Albany had been forced to abandon wheat, and within a few years, instead of being the chief exporting area, it was actually importing grain for its own needs. The factors entering into this change were soil depletion, rust, insect pests and the competition of the western portion of the state whose grain could now be marketed via the Erie Canal. Eastern New York, forced into new fields, turned to livestock, dairying and crops other than wheat.

*An excellent statement of the changes which took place in New York State between 1830-50 by Russell H. Anderson is contained in the Wisconsin Magazine of History, volume 16, Nos. 2-3 (December 1932 and March 1933). See also U. P. Hedrick, *A history of agriculture in the State of New York*.

Corn, oats, barley and rye could be grown profitably, especially when used as feed for sheep and cattle, and the New York City market furnished an ever expanding outlet for the livestock products. Dairying became highly prosperous in Orange, Herkimer and Oneida counties, cheese shipments over the Erie Canal increasing from 6,840,000 pounds in 1834 to 18,820,000 pounds in 1840, in which year dairying products valued at about \$4,000,000 passed through Albany. Moreover, those who found difficulty in adjusting themselves to the changing conditions could always try their fortunes anew in the far west, and in this venture the eastern emigrants were joined by thousands from the western part of the state, many of whom were simply caught up in the whirl of the western excitement. From the docks at Buffalo they boarded steamers bound for Detroit and other lake ports or made their way overland through Upper Canada, stimulating in this province the interest already existing concerning the western states.

By 1829 as many as three thousand a week were embarking on lake steamers out of Buffalo and in the thirties the numbers grew yet larger. Adam Ferguson, himself a large investor in Upper Canada lands and a successful farmer, in 1831 found Michigan "quite the rage," in some degree supplanting Ohio and Illinois. "The influx of emigrants at present to Michigan is quite remarkable," he writes. "Seven steam vessels ply from Buffalo to Detroit and the decks have been swarming every day since the navigation opened for the season."§ The Brantford Sentinel in October 1835 stated that no less than 200 teams had passed through the town during the season, laden with the furniture and families of emigrants bound for Michigan and Illinois. They were principally from the state of New York.¶ Sheriff Lachlan, of the Western District, said in February 1837 that during seven months of the preceding season there had been an average of 200 wagons, 100 teams of horses, 200 teams of oxen and 800 persons with their

moveables crossing at the Detroit ferry, having come up through Canada on their way to the west.† It was not Americans alone who joined in this large movement for it has been estimated that during the 1830's only one third of the British immigrants entering Upper Canada remained within the province. The majority were drawn away by the lure of the American west exactly as were the farmers of New York State. Two generations later the situation was to be reversed and tens of thousands of American farmers were to be drawn into Canada's far west by its lure of free land and promise of a better living.

Mention has already been made of the stimulus which was given to the agriculture of Western New York by the opening of the Erie Canal. The effect of this western competition upon eastern wheat production was an important influence in the agricultural changes in the older region. A recent study of this period of New York's agricultural history shows that while in 1827 approximately 53,000 barrels of flour were inspected at Albany, nine years later "there arrived at Albany over all canals the equivalent of 936,630 barrels of flour, excluding western shipments received at Buffalo." The principal source of this increased supply was the region east and south of Lake Ontario, though even there not all of the land was in wheat.

The same forces which brought the agricultural changes in eastern New York in the thirties were beginning to operate in western New York by the forties and early fifties. Soil depletion was in evidence due to continuous cropping of wheat and absence of fertilizers. The wheat midge, first making its ap-

§Adam Ferguson, *Practical notes made during a tour in Canada and a portion of the United States in 1831*. (Edinburgh 1834), pp. 300 and 303.

¶Quoted in the *Montreal Gazette*, October 13, 1835.

†*Western Herald (Sandwich)*, May 22, 1838.

pearance in the state near Albany in 1830, had within ten years reached every county in the western section. Rust had appeared and likewise spread in the same period. In the forties the Hessian Fly became a scourge in all parts of the state. Moreover western New York, which had supplanted eastern New York in wheat growing, was now finding itself threatened by the competition of the more distant west. Thousands of its people did not wait for the day of necessary change and adjustment but boarded ship at Buffalo and went west.

The picture which has been presented of the developments in New York state has been concerned with two large divisions of territory, the east and the west, but it will be recognized that within the state countless minor adjustments were taking place in the period under review. Such adjustments were to be repeated elsewhere for the remainder of the century as waves of population pressed westward through Ohio, through Michigan, through Illinois and Indiana, and finally beyond the Mississippi. Upper Canada shared in these changes very much as if it had been a part of the republic.

The history of agriculture in Ontario divides naturally into three periods, from 1783 to 1837, from 1837 to 1867, and from 1867 to the present time as the third and longest period. From 1783 until the War of 1812 primitive conditions naturally prevailed, with the first clearings being made and with little surplus production save in exceptional years. Spring wheat had been first sown in Upper Canada in the Niagara District. As early as 1792 we find the inhabitants making representations to Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe on the subject of transporting to Lower Canada the surplus of an abundant crop. That must have been an exceptional year, however, for in 1794 and 1795 drought and ravages of the Hessian Fly threatened a famine, and in 1796 it was necessary to bring in seed grain. The high prices paid by the

British authorities for grain during the War of 1812 gave a stimulus to production so that soon there was some export to Europe. During the thirties immigration from the British Isles increased and grew to larger volume in the forties, bringing about the opening up of new areas for settlement. In this time came the first importations of pure bred stock, one of the most important developments of our whole agricultural history. But wheat was still the staple upon which dependence was placed. "Wheat is really the only crop upon which the farmer calculates as a means of bringing in cash," wrote the Rev. G. W. Warr in the middle forties. "In all others barter is resorted to; but in wheat nobody ever thinks of buying or selling except for ready money so that a farm incapable of producing the grain is almost valueless."^{*}

During the first half of the nineteenth century Canadian commercial policy was still a phase of the British Colonial System. The application of that system to the Atlantic Coast Colonies during the 18th century had been a chief factor in their unrest, revolt and subsequent independence but the lessons of the American Revolution were largely lost upon the British government. Continuing for sixty years into the 19th century it was the Canadas which were spasmodically aided or frustrated by variations in trade policy determined by people who were two thousand miles away and whose chief concern must inevitably be their own peculiar interests. Prohibitions, sliding scales, fixed duties, preferences and withdrawal of preferences all appear in connection with the grain and flour trade. By Peel's Canada Corn Act of 1843 wheat and flour were admitted to the British market at a nominal duty in consideration of a provincial duty of three shillings a quarter on importations of American wheat. American wheat immediately poured into Canada for milling purposes. Canadian millers seized the

^{*}G. W. Warr, *Canada as it is; or, the emigrant's friend and guide to Upper Canada* (London 1847), p. 60.

opportunity so long awaited and an extensive industry developed. Canadian exports of flour by sea in 1846 amounted to 555,602 barrels, but that year marked the end of the good times. British legislation of 1846 swept away the whole basis of the lucrative and growing trade by opening the home market to all comers. Depression came down at once upon Upper Canada and arguments for separation and annexation to the United States were immediately heard. The effects of changing British trade policy may be illustrated by the experience of Jacob Keefer, of Thorold. During 1845-47, believing that the Canada Corn Act would continue in force, he expended his whole capital, eight thousand pounds, in the construction of the Welland Mills, then found himself in the summer of 1847 with a plant for which there was no business. Writing to Mr. William Hamilton Merritt in 1848 he said: "Should my being a subject of Great Britain be to my disadvantage . . . What would my condition be if this splendid canal (the Welland) ran through the State of New York ten miles east of this? No man in his senses doubts that the difference in that case would be wonderfully in my favor. I am really glad you are going to Washington, because if anything can be brought about for our benefit, no time should be lost in trying and when it is known that all fails, then the sooner the connector between Great Britain and Canada is dissolved, the better for Canada."[§]

Professor H. A. Innis has made the comment that after 1846 Canada for the first time had to stand on its own feet. If it could expect no favors from the parent state, it must set out to secure something from its neighbor. Here we have the genesis of the movement for reciprocity which was negotiated by Lord Elgin in 1854. The disparity between grain and flour prices in the United States and in Canada had been very apparent in the period after 1846. The council of the Toronto Board of Trade in its annual report for 1847 stated that for the period May to

November of that year the average price of wheat had been 33 cents a bushel higher in Rochester than in Toronto, while flour in the same months had sold at 88 cents a barrel higher in the American than in the Canadian City.[‡] The argument for reciprocity was found in such facts as these and in similar contrasts in prices.

Reciprocity with the United States brought higher prices for wheat, and joined with the opening of new areas and the increased use of machinery resulted in a large increase in production. Exports of wheat in 1856 were 46 per cent. higher than in 1855 and estimated production grew from 16,155,956 bushels in 1851 to 26,555,684 bushels in 1856. Lake ports such as Whitby and Kincardine developed rapidly on the basis of the grain trade. By 1860 the three counties of York, Ontario and Peel were producing a million more bushels of wheat annually than the whole of Lower Canada. But disquieting conditions were already being noted. Soil exhaustion was in evidence in the older settled counties; indeed, some of them were already being described as "worn out." Rust and insect pests were also taking an annual toll of hundreds of thousands of bushels of grain. This was the general situation at the opening of the sixties. Then came the Civil War in the United States.

At the opening of the war there was general expectation that the United States would have to make large purchases of farm products, including wheat, in Canada. "In the present condition of the world," said the Canadian Agriculturist in 1861, "we see no prospect of prices ruling low, and there is every motive for our Canadian farmers to get in as large a breadth of wheat as possible the coming autumn, with a reasonable prospect of remunerative

[§]See Innis and Lower, *Select documents in Canadian economic history 1783-1885* (Toronto 1933), p. 357.

[‡]Toronto Globe, January 8, 1848, quoted by Innis and Lower, *Select documents*, p. 355.

returns."[†] In that year, 1861, Upper Canada had a wheat crop of nearly twenty-five million bushels, but the United States also had a large crop in that year and large crops in 1862 and 1863 whereas in Upper Canada there were bad seasons in 1862 and 1864 and conditions none too good in 1863. Drought and insect pests were taking heavy toll of the Canadian harvests. On the other hand an astonishing feature of the war years is the increased wheat production in the United States, a circumstance which greatly favored the north in the struggle. Cotton, which had hitherto been the chief staple sent to the English market, was cut off with the opening of the war and wheat took its place. The loyal states and territories increased their wheat production from 142 million bushels in 1859 to 187 million bushels in 1862 and to 191 millions in 1863. Exports grew from 17 million bushels in 1860 to 53 million in 1862 and remained as high as 58 million in 1863. England was the chief customer, the United States supplying an ever larger proportion of her needs: 29.2 per cent. in 1860, 41.5 per cent. in 1861, 43.5 per cent. in 1862 and 38.4 per cent in 1863. It was this surplus wheat, much of it coming from new states in the west, which paid for the vast purchases of rifles, cannon, powder and other munitions of war which England supplied.*

Failure of the wheat crop in Upper Canada in such promising years caused disquietude. Was this province moving in the same direction as Lower Canada where wheat production now scarcely met local needs? J. C. Tache had stated in a report on the state of agriculture in Lower Canada in 1850 that in that province "the evil arose so suddenly, and was so little expected by the agricultural class, who enjoyed, without anxiety, the blessings of the present, that many persons were utterly disengaged, and resigned themselves, with all the apathy of despair, to an evil which they thought it beyond their power to

put an end to." Was this to be true also of Upper Canada?

We can see today that what was happening in Upper Canada was a repetition of what had happened in eastern New York, then later in western New York, a process which would be repeated in varying detail in section after section of the middle west as population moved on and agriculture developed. In the sixties Upper Canada was catching up with New York in the development of such agricultural activities as dairying, fruitgrowing, and increased live stock production. Accompanying these was increased use of the large variety of agricultural machinery now available, the development of agricultural journalism and the inauguration of scientific agricultural education.

If the 1860's had given us no new development in agriculture other than the introduction of the factory system of cheese production the decade would still deserve our interest and attention, for few changes in agriculture in this country have meant more in actual wealth than this innovation. There was, of course, a considerable amount of cheese made on farms in this province prior to the inauguration of the factory system, Oxford county being especially well-known for its product. The two largest producers of farm cheese in Oxford county around the year 1860 were Hiram Ranney, of Salford, Dereham township, and Andes Smith, whose farm was situated about five miles west of Norwich village. Ranney was known and revered as the "Dairy Patriarch" of that part of the county. Smith was almost equally well known and the production from his farm was exten-

*Canadian Agriculturist, vol. 13, pp. 401, 419 (July 1, 16, 1861).

*See Eli Ginzberg, *The economics of British neutrality during the American Civil War*, *Agricultural History*, vol. 10, pp. 147-156 (October 1936). On the influence of the Civil War upon Canadian agriculture see Fred Landon, *Some effects of the American Civil War on Canadian agriculture*, *Agricultural History*, vol. 7, No. 4, (October 1933).

sive, amounting to fifteen and a half tons of cheese in 1863.

The factory system of cheesemaking had originated in New York state after 1850 and spread rapidly through such counties as Orange, Oneida, Dutchess and Herkimer, the product of the latter county having a particularly high reputation. Dairymen found it profitable to organize on an associated or co-operative plan, the farmers who supplied the milk paying the cheesemaker and sharing in the profits of the business. In the American agricultural journals of the time there are extensive notices of the workings of the system and references also appear in the Canadian journals. It was not, however, until the year 1864 that the first Canadian factory began operations, its establishment being due to Harvey Farrington, Herkimer county, New York. He was an experienced cheesemaker and his coming to Canada seems to have been due in part to a conviction that it would be of public benefit to introduce into this country the factory system. He began operations in the spring of 1864 near Norwich in Oxford county, being followed in the same year by one or two others. From this centre the idea spread rapidly. Within a year several agricultural societies reported that in their constituency factories were in operation and the reports were uniformly favorable. President Rykert, speaking before the Provincial Agricultural Association meeting at London in September, 1865, made special mention of this new development in agriculture. § Two years later, in 1867, the dairying industry had made such advance that the Canadian Dairymen's Association was organized at a meeting of dairymen held in Ingersoll. This was only four years later than the organization of the American Dairymen's Association. This province was thus well in step with the dairying developments in the United States by the time Confederation had arrived. In 1873 the first Canadian creamery for butter making was established in Quebec and the government organization of cold storage dates from

1895. Last year the counties of Western Ontario produced over 200,000 boxes of cheese and the province as a whole 946,133 boxes, more than 75 per cent. of the total production of the Dominion. In addition Ontario produced about 86 million pounds of butter, more than a third of the total Canadian production.‡

The livestock industry was well established before the sixties but the demands of the Civil War gave it increased importance in that period. Travellers in Upper Canada prior to 1830, and even later, remarked on the poor quality of the cattle which were to be seen, but within a few years, and coinciding with the large British immigration of the thirties and forties, marked improvement took place. Cattle from Canada were being exhibited at State Fairs across the border by the late forties. The official report of the Provincial Exhibition held at Cobourg in 1848 indicates that pure-bred stock was rapidly increasing and improving in quality. When reciprocity with the United States came in 1854 livestock and animal products formed one of the chief exports and after 1861 this trade was stimulated by the Civil War. Cattle exports reached their peak in 1865, the shipments in the later months of that year being increased by anticipation of the approaching termination of the agreement and by the high prices in the United States due to the inflated currency. Warnings were heard at this time that export of cattle was going beyond the bounds of prudence and that the province would soon find itself short. The introduction of the co-operative cheese factories at this time probably drew public attention to the possible shortage of cattle.

§Transactions of the Board of Agriculture and of the Agricultural Associations of Upper Canada 1864 to 1868, vol. 6, p. 146.

‡From reports presented at the 70th annual convention of the Western Ontario Dairymen's Association, held in London. See London Free Press January 14, 1937.

Fruit growing also entered upon a more organized existence at this time. A fruit-growers association was organized at Hamilton in 1859 and a few years later came the Ontario Fruit Growers Association. Special effort was made to find new varieties of fruits that would do well in the climate and soil of the province. Representatives of New York State firms travelled through the province at this time selling young trees and doing an extensive business. Commercial canning came with the establishment of the first factory at Grimsby in 1878.

At the third provincial exhibition, held in Cobourg in 1848 the show of farm implements of Canadian manufacture was meagre, most of those on exhibition being the products of American makers in Rochester, Albany and Boston. A year later, when the provincial exhibition was held at Kingston, there was a better selection of Canadian implements and also an improvement in their quality. In the first report of the Bureau of Agriculture issued in 1853 Hon. Wm. McDougall noted that during the two or three years preceding the manufacture of tools and utensils for the farm had been begun in all the principal cities with a demand so great that manufacturers in the United States were opening branch plants in Canada. Among the American firms entering Canada was Joseph Hall, of Rochester, who opened a branch in Oshawa where threshing machines, mowers, self-raking reapers and other farm implements were produced. The Provincial Exhibition held at Hamilton in 1864 had as one of its features a public trial of mowers and reapers. The Hall firm of Oshawa won several prizes for the work of its mowers and reapers. A year later, when the Provincial Exhibition was held in London, there was much interest shown in the wide variety of farm machinery, the Canada farmer remarking: "Perhaps the most satisfactory feature of the Exhibition was the display of agricultural implements. A few years since no large agricultural implements were made in Canada at

all, and very few were imported. Now we find at the Provincial Exhibition many parties competing as manufacturers of the most costly agricultural implements."† Canadian interest was in part a by-product of the Civil War which by its needs had done more to popularize the use of machinery than a decade of argument would have done. By 1868 the Commissioner of Agriculture could point out in his annual report that not only had the use of labor-saving machinery greatly increased in the older districts but that machinery was now finding its way into newer districts where it had previously not been known. Perhaps it is in the development of the implement business of the sixties that one may find the background for early protectionist arguments. President Thomas Stock of Waterdown, in his address to the Provincial Agricultural Association in 1866, declared that there had been a complete revolution in agriculture in the province in the turning from continuous sowing of wheat to a rotation of crops. He then went on to speak of manufacturing industries and of their need for protection. "In this connection he would remark that much of the stuff raised by farmers under the new system was not such as could be exported; and since that was the case he would say by all means encourage manufacturers to come to the Province, stay there and be consumers. He did not believe in the rule laid down by some to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market. There were circumstances when he thought this would not be politic and he thought that as mechanics purchased the surplus and non-exportable stuff

†*Canada Farmer*, October 1, 1865. The North Oxford Agricultural Society in its report for 1865 said: "A few years since we had to rely on our enterprising American friends for every tool we used; also the bags, twine, rope, calico, cloth, and a thousand other things which are now manufactured in Canada equally as good as what they can produce at the present time." See *Transactions of the Board of Agriculture and of the Agricultural Associations of Upper Canada* 1864 to 1868, vol. 6, p. 364.

from farmers, and thereby gave the latter a market they needed, so in turn mechanics should be encouraged and protected against foreigners. In the infancy of their manufacturing interests, such guardianship and encouragement was, no doubt, necessary, and, then, of course, when they attained maturity they could get along on free trade principles. Protection was needed, he took it, until their manufacturers reached more strength, and was decidedly the best policy for Canada. These were his views on the subject."

Had these various changes which have been outlined been merely expedients by which uncomfortable agricultural conditions were alleviated, they might have been of a temporary character. It was of the highest importance that at this time there was an awakened scientific spirit, together with the means of diffusing information through improved agricultural journalism, by the activities of the agricultural associations and later through the educational work of the institution under whose auspices this lecture is delivered.

American farm journals had found their way into Canada since the thirties, the New England Farmer, the Genesee Farmer, the Albany Cultivator and the American Agriculturist being the best known in the farm homes of Canada. The first Canadian farm journal of which there is clear record was the British American Cultivator published at Toronto between 1842 and 1847. The motto of the Cultivator was: "Agriculture not only gives Riches to a Nation, but the only Riches she can call her own." In 1848 the Cultivator was consolidated with a new paper called the Canada Farmer which had been established in 1847 by William McDougall and Charles Lindsay. The consolidation eventually became known as the Canadian Agriculturist and after 1857 it was controlled by the Board of Agriculture of Upper Canada. It lasted until 1863 when it passed into the hands of the Honourable George Brown. Its last number appeared in

December 1863 and in January 1864 came the first issue of a new Canada Farmer, the second of that name. This journal was printed at the Globe office in Toronto and edited by the Rev. W. F. Clarke from 1864 until 1869 when he founded the Ontario Farmer. The Canada Farmer continued publication until January 1877 when it was amalgamated with the weekly Globe. In the meantime there had come into being another new farm paper, The Farmer's Advocate, founded in 1866 by William Weld. This is today the oldest farm journal in Canada. The Canada Farmer, the Ontario Farmer and the Farmer's Advocate represented an entirely new type of Canadian farm journal, practical in their policies, printing articles that the average farmer could comprehend, and brighter in physical appearance than their predecessors in the field.‡

The agricultural societies in the province were from an early date effectual agencies in promoting better husbandry and bringing to public attention the advances in agriculture. They gave support to the agricultural journals and they had powerful influence in developing the demand for agricultural education. A distinct step forward in agricultural education was made when George Buckland came from England in the forties to be professor of agriculture in the University of Toronto. Egerton Ryerson, superintendent of education for the province also introduced the study of agriculture into the common schools and prepared a text known as *First Lessons in Agriculture*. The preface of this volume is of interest. "Politicians," says Ryerson, "are accustomed to call farmers by way of compliment, the bone and sinew of the land; and bone and sinew they will remain, and never be anything else without education. It is the supreme law, illustrated by all history, that

‡For a more detailed account of the earlier agricultural journals of this province, see Fred Landon, *The Agricultural Journals of Upper Canada (Ontario), Agricultural History*, vol. 9, No. 4 (October 1935).

head rules muscle; and all the farmers who educate only their muscles, and not their heads must occupy the inferior relation of muscle. If the farmer keeps not up with the improvements and intelligence of the age, he will sink down into a mere animal of burden instead of standing among the peers of the land."

Leaven of this sort was stirring throughout the land when in 1869 the Honourable John Carling, commissioner of agriculture in the new Ontario administration, sent the Rev. W. F. Clarke, editor of the *Canada Farmer*, on a visit to certain agricultural colleges in the United States upon which he was to make a report. Mr. Clarke reported favorably to Mr. Carling and immediate steps were taken to establish in this province something of similar character. The new institution was opened in May of 1874 under the name Ontario School of Agriculture with an enrollment of thirty or more students. Mr. T. H. Mason, father of Mr. H. C. Mason, founder of this agricultural history lecture, was a member of the first class and in a series of articles which he published in the *London Advertiser* in 1935 has left on record a valuable account of the beginnings of what is now the Ontario Agricultural College.

Mr. James Truslow Adams has pointed out that the history of the United States displays frequent instances of double influences at work, "that what so often has promised to be poison has contained its own antidote." This observation might be applied to Canada and to the period which has been under review. The realization at the beginning of the sixties that a continuation of the successive wheat cropping would bring the agriculture of the day to a non-paying basis turned attention to dairying and to other types of farming. The threat which came to our national existence through the Civil War led our political leaders of the times not only to consider a new form of state organization but actually to press it through to completion, in some measure against the wishes of the people of two provinces.

In the writing of history there is always the temptation to fix upon certain dates as times of change. We, in Canada, think of July 1st, 1867 as the birthdate of the Dominion of Canada and it is quite true that after that date there was a new combination of states, a changed form of government and the probability of new policies. But Confederation was at one and the same time the culmination of a past and the beginning of something yet to be. What had been was merged into what was to be. The background of Confederation was not purely Canadian; it has in it English influences and American influences, even such world influences as the nationalism of the times. So, when we come to study the agriculture of this province we find that it is not a history walled about and influenced only by local conditions. It is a part of the history of this continent. Many of the forces which operated in the United States during the nineteenth century operated here as well. The abundance of free land is the explanation of the rapid increase in population in both countries. We were a part of the expansive movement which sent men from older lands, and from the older states of the republic out beyond the Alleghanies, into Upper Canada, down through the valley of the Ohio, up into Indiana and Illinois, and eventually out beyond the Mississippi. The people who came into Upper Canada after 1800 were, for the most part, little concerned whether they remained in this province or went on, as so many of them did. Boundary lines were purely artificial as far as economic well-being was concerned. Benjamin Franklin, as early as 1751, had foreseen the influence that such an abundance of land would exert upon the growth of population and the movements of people.

"Land," he said, "being thus plenty in America, and so cheap as that a laboring man, that understands Husbandry, can in a short time save money enough to purchase a piece of new land, whereon he may subsist a family . . . for if they look far enough forward to

consider how their children, when grown up, are to be provided for, they see that more land is to be had at rates equally easy, all circumstances considered . . . Our people must at least be doubled every twenty years. But notwithstanding the increase, so vast is the territory of North America, that it will require many ages to settle it fully; and till it is fully settled, labor will never be cheap here, where no man continues long a laborer for others, but gets a plantation of his own; no man continues long a journeyman to a trade but goes among those new settlers and sets up for himself."‡

Thus the process went on decade after decade during the century, successive frontiers of progress being established and then changing as the new caught up with the old. It is in this large panorama of migrating peoples and migrating civilization that one finds the real romance of North America.

‡This extract from Franklin's pamphlet on "The Increase of Mankind and the Peopling of Countries" is quoted by Carl Becker in his "Our great experiment in Democracy," p. 158.

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